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ABSTRACT

Although the writings of Antoine-Henri Jomini influenced military thought during the 19th and 20th centuries, the obscurity of their publishing history has led to misunderstandings of the development and substance of Jomini's thought. This review attempts to (1) point out the continuity of his thought on the conduct of war, and (2) provide an accurate history of his known, published works. The bibliography which follows lists the major editions of his works, pamphlets, articles from journals and newspapers, and correspondence. Titles and annotations are in French with notes in English. Translations of his works are also listed. The bibliography covers material published from 1805 to the present. (Author/JAB)

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ANTOINE-HENRI JOMINI
A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

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by

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FOREWORD

by

Peter Paret

Jomini's basic ideas on war are few in number and relatively straightforward. Undoubtedly that was one reason for the popularity of his works, which is attested to by the numerous editions, translations, and adaptations that were published during his long life, and that continued to appear, albeit at a slower rate, after his death in 1869. Jomini wrote as a broadly experienced staff officer, for men who were concerned less about the ethical or political problems of war than about the most efficient way of using armed forces in the field, and he found the right tone for this audience. His categories, principles, and rules seemed to bring badly needed order into the confusion of war that was ushered in by the French Revolution, and that accelerated throughout the 19th century with the introduction of mass armies, more powerful weapons, and new means of communication and transportation. The appeal of his system to the professional soldier could not be doubted; its validity was another matter. Sceptical readers then as now might query the accuracy of Jomini's histories, and even more so the logic of his concepts and categories. The supposedly scientific analyses with which he accompanied his business-like but rather superficial campaign narratives bear to some eyes a disturbing resemblance to the architecture of his time, which plastered colonnades on banks and railway-stations to lend them a spurious Roman grandeur. But no critic can claim that Jomini's writings were marginal in his day, or that they did not become part of the mainstream of military life for two or three generations. He filled a need; and in that connection it may be noted that during the Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic periods official service manuals and directives had not yet reached their present profusion, so that such authors as Jomini, Mathieu Dumas, or Willisen played a greater role in the professional education of the average officer than do the Kahns and Brodies today. Considering his wide popularity, Jomini inspired relatively few disciples who developed his theories further - perhaps he was too pragmatic, not sufficiently speculative, for his writings to possess much intellectual sweep - but his manner of thinking influenced the way soldiers throughout the western world thought about *their* specific tasks. Indeed, often he seemed to reflect and to codify what already were widely-held beliefs.

In consequence, large segments of 19th-century military history cannot be understood unless Jomini's works are taken into account. But even those who are more interested in contemporary strategic

policy than in history will find Jomini of some value - not because he offers eternal verities, which with some effort might be made to fit modern conditions, but because so many of his readers believed that he did. He was far superior to most writers in the field, but he felt such confidence in the accuracy of his doctrines that he ignored significant evidence to the contrary. To reflect on the mistaken theoretical deductions he drew from his erroneous historical interpretations - flaws that did nothing to diminish their popularity - is a salutary experience for all who are concerned with modern strategic doctrine. It may induce caution toward blindly accepting the strategic fashion of the moment - and in the decades since 1945 there have been some remarkable shifts in doctrine - and encourage people to think things through for themselves.

While the central concepts of Jomini's thought on war are fairly simple, the process by which he evolved and refined them was complex. Readers are rarely interested in the history of the finished work before them, and that seems particularly true of didactic works, which appeal to their readers' desire for knowledge and practical benefits. But in fact the history of Jomini's publications contains numerous clues to his ideas. Knowing when and in what sequence the separate titles of his vast output appeared enables us to trace the evolution of his ideas, and helps us identify the individuals, events, and the writings of other authors that had an impact on his thought, and to which he reacted in turn. Not infrequently occurrences in his life helped determine aspects of his theory, as is illustrated by the genesis of what is probably Jomini's most important short manuscript - the chapter on general principles, which forms the conclusion of what was later to be called the *Treatise on Great Military Operations*. It is illuminating to learn that this chapter was written long before the final volume of the *Treatise*, to satisfy Berthier, Jomini's persistent critic and eventually his most destructive enemy, and that it was printed both as a separate pamphlet and as an article before a revision was incorporated into the *Treatise* some years later. John Alger, the author of the present study, is certainly correct in suggesting that the circumstances that caused Jomini to write this chapter affected the form and content of its fundamental principles - and, it might be added, inevitably shaped those sections of the *Treatise* that were written after the "conclusion."

The history of Jomini's works abounds with such complications. They have misled or mystified readers for generations, and caused countless errors in the scholarly literature. In the course of research into the genesis of the principles of war, John Alger encountered this century-old confusion, and I am delighted that he decided to clear it up. I suspect that there were times when the seeming impossibility to track down yet another variant or to establish its correct date of publication caused him to regret his decision, but the result of his efforts has been an analytic reference guide that should be of lasting value. The study of Jomini's ideas, and thus also the study of military theory in the 19th century, will proceed on a sounder footing in the future than has been possible so far.

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Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France.

Command and General Staff College Library, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

General Libraries, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California.

Private library of Professor Peter Paret, Stanford, California.

Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, California.

United States Army Military History Research Collection, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania.

United States Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

I also thank Joyce Eakin for her help in obtaining the photographs reproduced in this study and Mrs. Sharon Moran for her patience and diligence in preparing the manuscript for publication.

The writings of Antoine-Henri Jomini have had a strong--and in some respects lasting--impact on military thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In spite of their influence, however, their publishing history is obscure, and this obscurity has led to frequent misunderstandings of the development and substance of Jomini's thought. Its full meaning can be appreciated only when his writings are examined in their proper generic sequence--a sequence difficult to determine because: titles were often changed from one volume to the next within the same set; identical volumes appeared under different titles; abbreviated titles, used because main titles were inordinately long, often made it difficult to establish a volume's place within the sequence; half--or "bastard" titles, which appeared on the leaf preceding the title page differed markedly from main titles, and even though the half-titles might provide the only link between volumes in a series, commentators generally overlooked them; in short, the sequence in which Jomini wrote and published his works has been and continues to be misrepresented, partly because publishers, cataloguers and historians have been confused by this multitude of complexities. But some of the problems can be traced to Jomini himself. Books which he wrote late in his life often contained ambiguous publishing data about earlier published works; translators and biographers have repeated and complicated these ambiguities. Other problems in identifying the proper generic sequence of Jomini's writings resulted from the conditions under which the books were written. Changing political and personal fortunes disrupted his stated intentions, and he often wrote during campaigns when his preceding volumes were not at hand.¹ The brief review of Jomini's writings which follows attempts to serve a double purpose: first, to point out the continuity of his thought on the conduct of war, and second, to provide an accurate history of his known, published works.² The second purpose largely serves the first, for the publishing history clearly reveals the conceptual unity of his major writings.

The earliest published writings attributed to Jomini appeared during his service as an administrator in the Swiss Ministry of War. In September 1800 an article signed, "J*****, employee of the Swiss government," was published in the *Bulletin helvétique*, and in the following month an article signed simply, "J*****," appeared.³ The articles were entitled, "Peut-on espérer la paix?"⁽⁶⁵⁾ and "Des formes d'un bon gouvernement."⁽⁶⁶⁾ Though very brief, each article numbering only four pages, they indicated Jomini's early interest in politics, a theme that often reappeared in his published works.

In 1802 Jomini turned his attention to the writing of a didactic essay which would outline "the fundamental principles upon which all the decisions concerning lines of operations and movements of an army are based."⁴ But after reading Heinrich Von Bulow's *Geist des neueren Kriegssystems*, he decided that "dogmatic calculations convince no one,"⁵ and he cast his first manuscript into the fire.⁶

Jomini then decided to substantiate his didactic essay by retelling the story of Frederick's campaigns and by contrasting them with the early campaigns of the French Revolution. In the volumes on Frederick he planned to follow the accounts of the Welshman Lloyd and the Prussian Tempelhof, and in separate chapters and in a concluding volume, he planned to outline a theory for the military art. The first two volumes of the work appeared as *Traité de grande tactique*.^[10]

Jomini Hervé
Full name: Jomini; Date: 1805
TRAITÉ
DE GRANDE TACTIQUE,

RELATION DE LA GUERRE DE SEPT ANS, EXTRAITE DE
 TEMPELHOF, COMMENTÉE ET COMPARÉE AUX PRINCIPALES
 OPÉRATIONS DE LA DERNIÈRE GUERRE;

AVEC UN RECUEIL DES MATIÈRES LES PLUS IMPORTANTES DE L'ART
 MILITAIRE, JUSTIFIÉES PAR CES DIFFÉRENTS ÉVÉNEMENTS.

PAR H^e. JOMINI, CHEF DE BATAILLON,
 ATTACHÉ AU MARÉCHAL DE L'EMPIRE NEY.

AVEC CARTES ET PLANS.
PREMIÈRE PARTIE.



A PARIS,

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AN XIII. — (1805).

The title page of Jomini's first published volume.

These volumes are often referred to as the *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*, but this title was not used until the third volume of the series was published in 1807.

The writing of the first two volumes was certainly completed by 1804, but some confusion exists concerning the actual date of publication. 1805 appears on the title page, in parentheses after *An XIII*, i.e., year thirteen of the revolutionary calendar, which corresponded to the period 22 September 1804 through 21 September 1805, but some evidence suggests that these volumes were published in 1804 or even earlier. Jomini wrote in the preface to the third edition of this work that his first volumes were "printed for the first time in 1804" and that he "published" his first work in 1804 and 1805. Ferdinand Lecomte, Jomini's friend, disciple and biographer, reported, "The first two volumes were written in final form in 1804 and published in the same year."⁷ In the preface to the fourth edition of the work, Jomini wrote, "Such were the origins of the *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*, whose first volumes were printed in 1804."⁸ He did not point out at this time that the first volumes were entitled, *Traité de grande tactique*. A bibliography published in Paris in 1830 also confused the title and the date of publication of these first volumes. It stated, "The first edition appeared in 1803 under the title: *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*."⁹ The titles were on occasion erroneously reported or assumed, but the discrepancies in the date of publication allow several possible explanations.

First, distinctions between "printing" and "publishing" are rarely made or needed in the machine press era, but the translation of the French cognates used in the hand-printing era, which prevailed in France throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, often leads to either ambiguities or to apparent contradictions. To appreciate the semantic difficulties associated with these terms, an understanding of hand-printed book manufacture is useful. Hand-printed books were expensive to produce, capital was not readily available, and publishers were rarely prepared to accept the uncertainty concomitant with a large investment in a novice writer. No publisher, for example, would accept the financial uncertainty associated with young Jomini's treatise on grand tactics. The author therefore had to obtain private financial support. When a manuscript was completed, as Jomini's was in 1804, the author would announce that the work was available for publication. It is possible that Jomini and Lecomte were referring to this act when they wrote that the first two volumes were "published" or "appeared" in 1804. After several futile attempts to obtain financial backing, Marshal Michel Ney promised to furnish the necessary amount. Once financial support was assured, a publisher could be retained. He in turn would contract a printer, and handle other administrative tasks necessary for the book's "publication." The printer set the type, printed, dried, folded and gathered the pages. The publisher, or an independent wholesaler, would then arrange for the distribution of the printed materials to booksellers who sold the books and bound them if customers wanted them bound. These various and sequential actions all required time, and rather than issue a book late in the year when it would soon appear to be a year old, the general practice among printers was to place the date of the ensuing year on a book if it was

not ready for distribution before November.¹⁰ Perhaps Jomini's volumes fell into this category, but it is also possible that Jomini merely made the manuscript available in 1804 and that it was not in fact printed until 1805. Jomini did not meet with Ney until 1805, and since typesetting was a tedious task and type supplies were reused, it is unlikely that type would be set, or even a printer contracted, before Ney's financial assurances were obtained. This suggests that 1805, the date which appears on the title pages, was in fact the year that Jomini's first volumes were printed and made available for public sale. Most modern definitions of "publish" would hence have to accept this 1805 date.

Jomini's first volume contained an outline of the materials to be included in each of seven parts, or volumes, of the finished work. The first five parts were to deal with the Seven Years' War and the sixth with the wars of the French Revolution from the Year I (1792) through the Year VIII (1800). The seventh part of the opus was to deal with "The general application of different orders of battle to all those battles that have been reported upon."¹¹ But in 1806 this plan was altered by the appearance of the fifth part of the work. The title was identical to that of the first two volumes except that the word "principal" was omitted from a phrase that had earlier read, "discussion of the Seven Years' War, taken from Tempelhof, commented upon and compared to the principal operations of the latest war." The first volumes, which probably ran about a thousand copies each, must have enjoyed a moderate success, for Jomini was able to continue with this subsequent volume. At the same time, however, his publishers, believing that greater public interest could be aroused by a volume on more recent events, asked Jomini to write a volume on the revolution before concluding his resumé of the Seven Years' War.¹² Hence, volume five appeared before volumes three and four. Since volume five discussed the revolution rather than the conclusion of Frederick's wars, the organizational plan outlined in the first volume had also been abandoned.

The fifth volume was also published under the title, *Relation critique des campagnes des Français contre les coalisés, depuis 1792.*^[12] In this era, it was not an uncommon practice to print different title pages for the same work--undoubtedly to the occasional chagrin of readers who examined the contents of a book only after its sale was concluded.

Jomini's literary efforts were not engaged solely on his multi-volume essay on the wars of Frederick and of the revolution during the early years of the nineteenth century. In September 1806, at the chateau of Warthausen, Jomini wrote a brief pamphlet, *Observations sur la probabilité d'une guerre avec la Prusse, et sur les opérations militaires qui auront vraisemblablement lieu.*^[51] for his benefactor, Marshal Ney. It assumed the inevitability of a war with Prussia and predicted the nature of operations in the coming campaign.¹³

By January 1807 Jomini had completed the third volume of his essay on the Wars of Frederick. It was entitled, *Traité de [sic] grandes opérations militaires.*^[13] In the preface he wrote that the

goals stated in the first volume of the work could not be realized "without giving the work a length that would be tiring and useless."¹⁴ He decided merely to outline the great movements of the Seven Years' War rather than give the details offered by Tempelhof. Nevertheless, he was confident that his readers would be able to discern the reasons for the events and the relationship between the events and the "principles of the art." For the first time, the title proclaimed an essay on great military operations rather than on grand tactics. This change suggested that Jomini's shift from a purely theoretical work, the one cast in the fire after the reading of Bülow, to a historical account with theoretical observations, had moved still further toward the historical. Perhaps his publishers believed that a wider audience would be attracted to a series on great military operations than to a series on grand tactics. Perhaps he believed that he was better qualified to relate historical events than to formulate a substantive theory of war, and perhaps his observation and growing appreciation of Napoleon's talent as a general had altered his earlier view that the art of war was a mystery unknown to modern commanders. When this volume was published, Jomini, though a colonel serving in the *Grande Armée*, was still only twenty-seven years old.

In 1808 Jomini published "*L'art de la guerre*" [⁶⁷] and "*Relation succincte de la bataille de Jéna*," [⁶⁸] a detailed first-hand description of the battle, in the first issues of *Pallas: Eine Zeitschrift für Staats- und Kriegskunst*.¹⁵ The journal was published in Tübingen, and it extended Jomini's ideas to savants in the German military world. The former article was a reprint of Jomini's Summary of the general principles of the art of war, written in Posen in December 1806 and published for the first time in Glogau, Silesia in December 1807. The intricate history of these significant publications is discussed below. The latter article was written from notes taken by Jomini at the battle, but it contained substantial factual errors and was severely criticized--for instance by George Heinrich von Berenhorst, the influential military writer and former adjutant of Frederick the Great.¹⁶

In the year following the appearance of the *Pallas* articles, Jomini published the fourth volume of his *Essay on great military operations*. He stated in the preface that he did not have sufficient time to devote to his writing, but having discovered that the "same causes have produced the same results," he decided to review the concluding campaigns of the Seven Years' War rather than leave the work incomplete.¹⁷ The title of the fourth volume was the same as that used with the third. Even the erroneous "*de grandes opérations militaires*" rather than "*des grandes opérations militaires*" was repeated. [¹⁴] The fourth volume appeared in 1809, and despite evidence to the contrary, it was the latest published volume--the fifth had appeared in 1806--of the first edition of the work. Lecomte wrote, "The second edition. . . was published in Paris . . . also in eight volumes,"¹⁸ and thus suggested that the first edition had eight volumes, but in 1810 *Extrait du Traité des grandes opérations militaires*, Sixième partie, Chapitre VIII, Conclusion de l'ouvrage: *L'art de la guerre ramené à ses véritables principes* [¹⁵] had been published in Paris. This fourteen-page pamphlet provided the conclusion for the

first edition of the Essay on great military operations, and it also represented a further intricate and often confused development in Jomini's thought and writing.

The chapter on the principles of the art of war was first written in December 1806 in Posen. The writing of a conclusion at this time was certainly anachronistic, but the task was the result of political encouragement. Jomini's first two volumes had been read with favor by Napoleon after the Austerlitz campaign of 1805, but when Louis Alexandre Berthier, Napoleon's chief of staff and also the minister of war, read them, he criticized them severely because they had no conclusion.¹⁹ Jomini replied that the conclusions to an eight-volume work should be expected in neither the first nor the second volume, but nevertheless accepted the task of writing a conclusion at this time. Jomini's later disagreements with Berthier had far more serious consequences for Jomini's career, but in regard to his theory, this first breach was also significant. A year after the concluding chapter to the Essay was drafted, it was published in Glogau, Silesia, as *Résumé des principes généraux de l'art de la guerre*.^{20[54]} This summary would become the conclusion of every edition of the Essay on great military operations, and because of Berthier's criticism, it was probably stated in more positive terms than it otherwise might have been. In this chapter, Jomini explicitly stated the "fundamental principle upon which every military combination rests," i.e., "to operate with the greatest mass of our forces upon a decisive point," and he also enumerated the maxims of the art of war which were derived from the fundamental principle and gathered from the first two volumes. Following its publication in Glogau, the chapter was reprinted in the first issue of *Pallas* as "L'art de la guerre." The wide circulation resulting from the publication of Jomini's brief chapter on general principles in this German journal not only extended his audience, but brought him praise and criticism from well-informed readers. Berenhorst thought that the article had considerable merit, certainly far more than the article on Jéna which also appeared in *Pallas*.²¹ And it is nearly certain that Clausewitz' early criticism of Jomini's theory was based not only on his acquaintance with the first two volumes of the Essay but also on his reading the chapter on principles, either in the form of the Glogau pamphlet or the article in *Pallas*.²² Less than four years after Jomini's first publications on the art of war, his ideas were clearly well-known by French and German military men alike.

In 1810 the chapter on general principles was revised for publication as the conclusion of the first edition of Jomini's Essay on great military operations. In 1811 the chapter appeared as "L'art de la guerre ramené à ses véritables principes" at the conclusion of the first four volumes of the second edition of the Essay, and when the final two volumes of the second edition appeared in 1816, a note from the editors read:

General Jomini, having published the first volumes of this work as the activity of his career permitted, thought it was necessary to assemble his scattered principles in a single chapter, and he placed it at the end of the fourth volume. Since the work is being concluded by the volumes

that we are now publishing, it is natural that the concluding chapter should be re-established at the end, and readers are asked to delete chapter thirty-five entirely from the volume four since it finds itself again as chapter forty of the seventh part.²³

It appeared in chapter forty as "Exposé des principes généraux sur lesquels l'art de la guerre repose," and when Jomini restructured the essay for the third edition (1818), the chapter returned to the end of the volumes on Frederick's wars as chapter thirty-five. The title, "Exposé des principes généraux de l'art de la guerre," was used in the third edition of the essay, and when the fourth edition was published in 1851, the chapter was unchanged from the third edition.

The Chapter on principles also formed the base from which Jomini's more theoretical works of the 1830s grew. A translation of the chapter was appended to John Michael O'Connor's translation of Simon Gay de Vernon's *Traité élémentaire d'art militaire et de fortification* (translated as *A Treatise on the Science of War and Fortification*, New York, 1817); the translation was one of the first texts dealing with military science that was used at the United States Military Academy. J. A. Gilbert drew heavily from this chapter in his selected translation of Jomini, *An Exposition of the First Principles of Grand Military Combinations and Movements*.^[59] Colonel Frank Schaller translated the chapter for inclusion with Marshal Marmont's *De l'esprit des institutions militaires* in an edition that appeared in Columbia, South Carolina in 1864. The influence of this chapter has been so great that the modern list concept of principles for the art of war may well be derived from its celebrated passages.

The first six volumes of the second edition of Jomini's Essay on great military operations were published in 1811; the final two volumes were withheld by censors until 1816. The first four volumes were devoted to the campaigns of Frederick, and the second four dealt with the campaigns of the French Revolution through 1797. On the first four volumes, the half-title read, "Traité des grandes opérations militaires," and the title read, *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*.^[16] But in the fifth through eighth volumes, the title read, *Histoire critique et militaire des campagnes de la révolution*, and only the half-title maintained the link between the eight volumes in the series.

SUITE
DU TRAITE
DES GRANDES
OPÉRATIONS MILITAIRES.
TOME CINQUIÈME.

HISTOIRE
CRITIQUE ET MILITAIRE
DES
CAMPAGNES DE LA RÉVOLUTION.
COMPARÉE
AU SYSTÈME DE L'EMPEREUR NAPOLEON;
Fournit avec le Traité des Grandes Opérations militaires;
PAR LE GÉNÉRAL BARON DE JOMINI,
Employé à l'Etat-Major de S. M. l'Empereur.
DEUXIÈME ÉDITION.
Accompagnée d'un Atlas militaire, augmenté de Cartes et
Plans de batailles.
PREMIÈRE PARTIE

A PARIS,
CHEZ MAGIMEL, LIBRAIRE NOUVEAU, L'ART MILITAIRE,
RUE DE VERMOREL N° 2
1811.

The half-title page and title page of volume five of the second edition of Jomini's Essay on great military operations.

The half-title on volume five, for example, read, "Continuation of the *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*. Volume five." Further confusion, however, arose from the words "second edition, first part" which appeared on the title page of the fifth volume. The sixth volume's title page indicated, "second edition, second part," and the seventh and eighth volumes were both ambiguously designated "the third and final part." Even though the title pages suggested otherwise, there were eight volumes in the second edition. The first two volumes had been greatly revised since their appearance in 1805 as the *Traité de grande tactique*. The title and content of the third and fourth volumes was very similar to the corresponding volumes in the first edition. The title of the fifth volume was new, and the sixth through eighth volumes which dealt with the campaigns of the revolution from 1794 through 1797, appeared for the first time. The task that Jomini had undertaken in 1802, to write a comparative history of Frederick's wars and the early wars of the revolution to illuminate a theory of war, had reached a plateau, but it was far from terminated.

The acceptance of Jomini's works by the reading public was in part attested to by the appearance of the complete second edition in both an eight-volume octavo series and a four-volume quarto. The quarto was typically printed on more expensive paper, was generally more expensive to produce and hence, intended for sale to the more affluent members of society.

In spite of success and a position of some influence, Jomini's quarrels and differences with more senior officers culminated in his resignation from the French army in August of 1813. He was charged with desertion and treason, but he defended himself vehemently in publications that appeared sporadically throughout his lifetime. Even after his death, his descendants continued his defense. Differences with Ney had been especially trying. They had erupted in May 1813 over the use of cavalry in support of the operations around Bautzen, and in October 1813 Jomini published a pamphlet in Leipzig in which he defended his recommendations for the use of the cavalry and also his decision to leave the service of the French Empire. The pamphlet was published in both French and German and was entitled, *Mémoires sur la campagne de 1813*^[54] or *Memoiren über den Feldzug von 1813*.^[55] The attacks on Jomini continued. In 1815, the French general, Jean Sarrazin, wrote a history of the war against Russia and Germany, which included events from June 1812 to November 1813. In this volume he accused Jomini of furnishing French plans to the Prussian general Blücher during the campaign of 1813. Jomini defended himself in a lengthy letter to General Sarrazin, which was published in Paris in 1815 and again in 1817 under the title "Correspondance entre le général Jomini et le général Sarrazin, sur la campagne de 1813."^[56] Extracts of the pamphlet on the probability of war with Prussia in 1806 and of the Leipzig pamphlet on the campaign of 1813 were also included in this new publication. In the decades that followed, Jomini often took time to respond to the accusations against him. His lengthy correspondence with Charles Monnier was published in Paris in 1821^[57]; a letter in that correspondence, written by Jomini on the day prior to his resignation, explained in detail the reasons for his decision. The historian

Jean-Baptiste Capefrique levelled criticisms in a history of Europe; Jomini's reply was published in Paris in 1841 as "Lettre de général Jomini à M. Capefrique, sur son *Histoire d'Europe pendant le consulat et l'Empire*." [89] This letter was also appended to the fourth edition of Jomini's Essay on great military operations.

In 1893 a further defense of Jomini's actions in 1813 was published in Paris. He had died twenty-four years earlier, but his children and friends were so disappointed in the report of the 1813 affair that had appeared in the posthumously published memoirs of Marbot that they sponsored a publication in Jomini's defense. It was entitled, *Le général Jomini et les Mémoires du Baron de Marbot*, [100] and contained a biographical sketch of Jomini, as well as a letter of 10 April 1846 from Jomini to the statesman and historian Adolph Thiers. The letter asked Thiers to consider Napoleon's tolerant remarks which were recorded at St. Helena and which concerned Jomini's actions in 1813. Thiers was also kind in his treatment of the "1813 catastrophe" as Jomini called it, and the pamphlet of Jomini's family and friends at least succeeded in recalling this fact to the public's attention. The letter to Thiers was also published in the November 1892 issue of the *Revue militaire suisse*. [99] Its appearance in this journal was probably motivated by the same consideration of vindicating Jomini's name that prompted the publishing of the pamphlet.

In 1815 Jomini met the Austrian Archduke Charles whose works on the principles of grand tactics and strategy closely paralleled his own. Jomini agreed to translate the Archduke's volumes on the principles of strategy, but the actual translating was done by Captain Jean-Baptiste Koch, who had been Jomini's aide-de-camp in 1813 and often his literary assistant as well. [24] Jomini did, however, write the notes which accompanied the translation.

In 1818, the same year that the Archduke's *Principes de la stratégie* [81] was published in Paris, Jomini published the third edition of his Essay on great military operations. This edition was a three-volume set of the first half of the second edition; i.e., the section that dealt with the Seven Years' War. Volume one was virtually unchanged from the second edition. Volume two included the second volume of the second edition and the first half of the third volume, and the final volume included the remainder of the first section of the work and the chapter on general principles from the eighth volume of the second edition. The title of the third edition again brought confusion to the title conundrum. The first four volumes of the second edition had been entitled, *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*. The third edition was entitled, *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de Frédéric II*. [19] The half-title of the third edition did maintain the titular link with the earlier editions. It read, "Traité des grandes opérations militaires, First part, Histoire critique des guerres de Frédéric II." The volumes in the second edition which had dealt with the wars of the revolution were omitted from the third edition in order to be included in a separately published series on the wars of the revolution alone. That this second part of the *Traité's* third edition would be the critical and military history of the wars of the revolution seemed apparent, but when the history of the wars of the revolution appeared, the connection with

the Essay on great military operations was ostensibly forgotten. The tale of the Seven Years' War had now been published in three editions under three very different titles: *Traité de grande tactique*, *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*, and *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de Frédéric II*. The first title suggested a topic of military science; the third, Prussian history and the second something different again. Yet the contents of the three editions were nearly identical.

The third edition of Jomini's essay was also published in Paris under the title, *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*.^[20] A Brussels publisher, Jean-Baptiste Petit, reprinted the third edition in 1840 and again in 1842 under the title, *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de Frédéric II*.^[21] The title page of this publication announced "New edition" and "Rewritten from new documents and augmented by a great number of maps and sketches," but in fact the text was the same as the Paris 1818 edition. Jomini published a fourth edition of this work in 1851 which he claimed was the only edition given the care in preparation that he preferred. It was entitled, *Traité des grandes opérations militaires, ou histoire critique des guerres de Frédéric le Grand*^[22] and was published by two separate Parisian firms, Tanera and Dumaine.

The first six volumes of Jomini's Essay on great military operations were translated into Russian at Saint Petersburg between 1809 and 1811. The Russian translation of volumes seven and eight of the second edition was published in 1817, a year after the volumes appeared in Paris. The first English translation of Jomini's Essay was completed at West Point, New York by Colonel Samuel B. Holabird during the American Civil War. This translation of the third Paris edition was published in two volumes and atlas in 1865 at New York and London and was entitled, *Treatise on Grand Military Operations*.^[22]

Jomini firmly believed that to read about military operations with advantage and pleasure, it was necessary "to follow marches on good maps and battles on detailed terrain sketches."²⁵ He often apologized to his readers for not being able to include the number and quality of maps and sketches that he would have liked, but he published many atlases to fill this gap. The earliest atlas, *Atlas du Traité de grande tactique*, was published in 1806. A new atlas was generally published with each of his major editions, and battle sketches accompanied most of the articles and pamphlets that described battles or campaigns.

The final four volumes of the second edition of the Essay on great military operations, which dealt with the wars of the French Revolution and which were withheld from the third edition of the essay (1818), were expanded and republished in fifteen volumes during the period 1820 through 1824. These volumes appeared as *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la révolution*,^[24] and they have been variously referred to as a first, second and third edition of the work. The volumes were nearly original in content--hence, the first edition. The title *Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la révolution* had been used earlier on the last four volumes of the second edition of the Essay on great military operations (1811-1816), so the expansion of the four volumes has been referred to as

the second edition.²⁶ And finally, since the fifteen volumes were an expansion of a second edition, they have been referred to as the third edition.²⁷ The title page claimed "New edition" which could mean a first edition, a second, a third, or a fourth or a fifth. . . . Regardless, Jomini's history of the wars of the revolution first appeared in fifteen volumes in the years 1820 through 1824.

Some booksellers sold these volumes in sets: volumes one to six included the introduction and the wars of the first coalition from 1792 to 1794, all six of these volumes were published in 1820; volumes seven through ten dealt with the wars of the second coalition from 1795 to 1798, three of these volumes were published in 1821 and the last in 1822 with an atlas; volumes eleven and twelve dealt solely with the campaign of 1799 and were published with an atlas in 1822; and finally, volumes thirteen to fifteen dealt with the campaigns from 1800 through 1803 and were published with an atlas in 1824. All volumes except the final two contained "pièces justificatives" (supporting documents) which today represent a rich fount of primary source materials for the revolutionary scholar. Jomini had at one time planned to complete this opus by adding six volumes to cover the wars of the empire from 1804 through 1815, but he abandoned this plan. He did, however, deal extensively with these campaigns in his later biography of Napoleon and in supplemental pamphlets and articles. The critical and military history of the wars of the revolution was published on two occasions; both publications were annotated, "New edition." Both were published in Brussels by J.-B. Petit; the first in fifteen volumes in 1837 to 1839 and the second in four volumes with an atlas from 1840 to 1842.

Throughout his life Jomini maintained an active interest in the political and military development of his native Switzerland. When in June 1820 General Sebastiani, a prominent member of the French Chamber of Deputies, testified that Switzerland as an independent state would not be able to safeguard the frontiers of France, and that therefore, if war occurred with Germany, France would have to send troops to occupy Switzerland, Swiss patriots became indignant. An anonymous reply, *De la Suisse dans l'intérêt de l'Europe*,^[54] to Sebastiani was published in Paris in 1821. The pamphlet has been attributed to Jomini by some authorities.²⁸ Other sources have denied that Jomini was involved in the incident,²⁹ but a second pamphlet attacking *De la Suisse* . . . was purportedly answered by Jomini in a pamphlet published in Geneva in 1822.^{30[85]} The entire matter demonstrates that Jomini or at least his name was closely associated with political events in Switzerland. Two other writings of this same time period were authored by Jomini during a summer leave in Switzerland in 1822. The first concerned general considerations on the military organization of Switzerland, military instruction and the composition of staffs. The second contained specific observations concerning the federal Swiss training cantonment held that summer.³¹ These writings were published in Lausanne as *Première épître d'un Suisse à ses concitoyens*^[57] and *Seconde épître d'un Suisse à ses concitoyens*.^[58]

Jomini's name long evoked memories of treason in French political circles, especially among Bonapartists, and such disfavor explained in part why his *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon, racontée par lui-même*^[27] was attributed to Napoleon. Jomini disguised as Napoleon could also express himself more freely than Jomini the Russian officer.³² If any serious question of authorship ever existed, it was virtually resolved by Jomini himself when he wrote a few years later in a discussion of recent political-historical writings: "I do not speak of the political and military life of Napoleon recounted by himself, because it is said that I am the author of it."³³ The four-volume study tacitly fulfilled Jomini's long-held intention not only to complete the history of the wars of the Empire, but also to describe the course of the most recent wars so that they might test the efficacy of the principles which comprised the basis of his theory of war. But like the history of the wars of the revolution, these volumes were lacking in the theoretical polemics found in his earlier volumes. The first volume of this series told of Napoleon's early life and covered his military activities through the year 1802. The final three volumes were devoted to the campaigns of the Empire and thus formed a sequel to his fifteen volumes on the wars of the revolution.

Criticism of the Life of Napoleon soon appeared in the press, and in the same year that the biography was published, Jomini wrote, *Réponse de l'auteur de la Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon à trois articles de la Gazette de France*.^[36] In the decades that followed, the popularity of the Life of Napoleon was extended by numerous republications and translations. A Russian translation, published in Saint Petersburg in 1838, was the first to appear. J.-B. Petit published the work in Brussels in 1841-1842.^[28] An English translation in four volumes by Henry Wager Halleck, general-in-chief of the Union armies during the American Civil War, was completed during a voyage around the Cape of Good Hope and was published in New York and London in 1864.^[29] It was republished in Kansas City in two volumes in 1897, and a Bulgarian translation appeared in 1895. Criticism of the Life of Napoleon has endured, too. In 1942, a biography of Swiss generals claimed that the Life of Napoleon was not only an atrocious biography, but "also a cunning autobiography--of Jomini."³⁴

All anonymity to the Napoleon biography was effaced in 1839 when a supplement to the Life of Napoleon was published in Paris by "General J***." This *Précis politique et militaire de la campagne de 1815* augmented chapter twenty-two of the original fourth volume. That chapter had allegedly been lost just before its scheduled publication and had had to be reconstructed in haste to meet the publisher's deadline.³⁵ Jomini explained in the preface to the supplement:

Having by an unforeseen event recovered the original manuscript, I hasten to restore it in its integrity, with this difference, that I present it in my name, instead of causing the recital to be made by Napoleon. A powerful motive has induced me to act thus, and change the form employed in the rest of the work: it is that the rapidity of the emperor's

fall, and his exile, preventing him from procuring accurate information of what had occurred, not only in his army, but also in that of his adversaries, he had at St. Helena composed narratives with which a disinterested historian could not entirely concur, so that it would have been necessary to make him utter things, of which he had judged altogether differently.³⁶

This supplement was published in Brussels in 1846, and an English translation, the *Political and Military History of the Campaign of Waterloo*, by Stephen Vincent Benet, grandfather of the Pulitzer prize-winning poet, was published in New York in 1853 and 1854.^[31] A second edition of the translation appeared in New York in 1862 and a third edition in 1864.

The supplement evoked anger from certain readers just as the original had, but the one critic of the enlarged chapter to whom Jomini replied was the Duke of Elchingen, son of Marshal Ney. A Bourbon court-martial had found Ney guilty of numerous offenses committed at Waterloo. The most serious was treason, and Jomini and many others had tried unsuccessfully to ameliorate his sentence of death by firing squad. His son now sought to "remove the reproaches" heaped on his father, but Jomini insisted that he could only report the facts as he understood them. His reply to the duke was published in 1841 under the title, *Campagne de 1815*.^[30] The pamphlet was signed "General J****." An English translation of the letter was appended to Benet's translation of the campaign of Waterloo.

Sections of Jomini's *Life of Napoleon* were enlarged upon again in 1886 when Lecomte edited a two-volume *Précis politique et militaire des campagnes de 1812 à 1814*.^[49] Lecomte was also responsible for the publication in 1892 of *Guerre d'Espagne*^[50] which was taken from Jomini's unpublished memoirs. Other sections of his memoirs appeared in the *Revue militaire suisse* in articles entitled "Iéna" (November 1906,^[76] "De Pultusk à Eylau" (January 1907)^[77] and continued as "La bataille D'Eylau" (February 1907),^[78] and "Un fragment inédit des Mémoires de Jomini" (August 1912).^[79] The latter article was prompted by the reopening of the "1813 catastrophe" by a Swiss journal, the *Drapeau suisse*. Two questions were asked of its readers:

What is your opinion of Jomini's leaving the service of France for that of Russia?

What would you have done in his place?³⁷

Nearly all replied that Jomini acted properly, but a minority report concluded that he should have remained in the French service. The article in the *Revue militaire suisse* included Jomini's report of an incident with Marshal Ney that occurred in June 1813; the incident emphasized many of Jomini's reasons for leaving the French army.

Jomini participated actively in the war between Russia and Turkey in 1828 and 1829, and a pamphlet, *Observations sur la dernière*

campagne de Turquie,^[60] has been attributed to him. The pamphlet sought to relieve criticism in France and Germany which belittled the Russian operations.³⁸ At the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War and perhaps in recognition of the contributory role which Jomini played in the Russian success, Tsar Nicholas ordered a new Russian translation of Jomini's Essay on great military operations. Still sensitive to the criticism that had accompanied his first major work, Jomini used this opportunity to write an analytical description of

TABLEAU
ANALYTIQUE
DES
PRINCIPALES COMBINAISONS
DE LA GUERRE,
ET DE LEURS RAPPORTS AVEC LA POLITIQUE
DES ÉTATS.
POUR SERVIR D'INTRODUCTION
AU TRAITÉ DES GRANDES OPÉRATIONS MILITAIRES.
PAR LE BARON DE JOMINI,
GÉNÉRAL EN CHEF, AIDÉ DE CAMP GÉNÉRAL DE S. M.
L'EMPEREUR DE TOUTES LES RUSSIES.
TROISIÈME ÉDITION,
AUGMENTÉE DE PLUSIEURS ARTICLES IMPORTANTS.

PARIS,
CHEZ ANSELIN, SUCCESSEUR DE MAGIMEL,
LIBRAIRE POUR L'ART MILITAIRE, LES SCIENCES ET LES ARTS,
RUE DAUPHINE, N° 9.

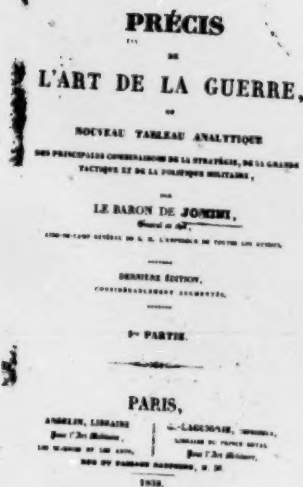
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The title page of the "Third edition" of Jomini's *Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre*:

the art of war which would "at the same time be both introduction and completion" to the essay.³⁹ Advance copies of this work appeared in Paris in 1829 and 1830 under the title, *Introduction à l'étude des grandes combinaisons de la stratégie et de la tactique*. The completed volume was first published in Paris in 1830 under the title, *Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre et de leurs rapports avec la politique des états*.^[32] The title page of this

edition indicated "Third edition," and Lecomte explained that "Third edition" merely meant that this volume was intended to introduce and complete the third edition of the Essay on great military operations which was then the latest edition.⁴⁰ This reasoning, however, did not explain why the identical volume published in Saint Petersburg in the same year (1830) was annotated "Second edition." It is possible that publishers treated the Introduction to the study of great strategical and tactical combinations published in Paris in 1829 and 1830 as the first edition; the Saint Petersburg Analytical description as the second edition and the Paris Analytical description as the third. To further complicate matters, a "Fourth edition" of the work was published in Saint Petersburg in 1836,^[34] and another "Fourth edition" was published in Brussels in 1839. A Polish language edition was published in Mont-de-Marsan, France in 1835.^[33]

In 1836 Jomini was appointed tutor to the Russian crown prince, the future Alexander II. In the following year, Jomini wrote that his Analytical description was not a complete work, that it was but a part of the Essay on great military operations and that in order to facilitate the instruction of the prince, he would enlarge the work and make it "independent of every other."⁴¹ The resulting publication, *Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire*,⁴² became one of the most widely known and influential works on the conduct of war that was written in the modern era.



Title pages of the two volumes of the first complete Paris edition of Jomini's *Précis de l'art de la guerre*.

Some advance copies appeared in 1837, but the complete two-volume Paris edition first appeared in 1838. No edition number was indicated on the title pages, but again confusion surrounds the identification of the various editions. The first volume's title page stated, "Latest edition," and the second volume of the first edition stated, "New edition."

The organization of the *Précis* was markedly similar to that of the 1830 Analytical description. New sections were added within chapters, but the general outline remained unchanged. A Brussels edition appeared in a single volume in 1838,^[37] and the second volume of a two-volume edition of all of Jomini's major theoretical work that was published in Brussels in 1841. The title of the second volume summed up the conceptual origins of the *Précis* in its rather complex title: *Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire; suivi du Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre et leurs rapports avec la politique des états, pour servir d'introduction au Traité des grandes opérations militaires . . . complété par l'histoire de la guerre de sept ans en Allemagne, pendant les années 1758 et suivantes.*^[39] The first German translation of the *Précis* appeared in 1839 as *Das Wesen der Kriegskunst*.^[38] A Spanish edition of the *Précis* was published in Madrid in 1840,^[40] and the first English translation, by Major O.F. Winship and Lieutenant E.E. McLean, was published in New York in 1854.^[41] This first English translation was quite literal and truly "a model of what a translation ought not to be."⁴²

In 1855 a new edition of the *Précis* appeared in Paris. The body of the work was identical to the 1838 edition, but the title page announced a new appendix. In fact, two appendices had been added. The first had been written in 1849 as part of the instruction of the heir to the Russian throne. It discussed the importance of being able to recognize the strategic features of the area of a campaign in a single glance and the means that a leader might use to develop this critical skill. The second appendix answered a question that Jomini had been asked in 1851: "Would recent improvements in firearms cause significant modifications in the manner of waging war?"⁴³ This appendix was also published separately in Brussels and Paris in 1856^[62] and appeared in Richmond, Virginia, C.S.A. in 1863. It was entitled, *Sur la formation des troupes pour le combat*, and it argued that improved firearms had little effect on tactics and on the art of war in general. Jomini also maintained that the principles of strategy and of grand tactics would not be changed and that advance by infantry in two ranks could be adapted to the new technological discoveries and in conformity with the principles that he had first enunciated in 1807.⁴⁴ The critiques of these ideas appeared in pamphlets and in journals like the respected *Spectateur militaire*. But Jomini refused to move from his long-held theory, which rested on the validity of immutable principles. His response to the critics of the appendix on troop formations was directed to the editors of the *Spectateur militaire*, and according to Lecomte, this reply should actually have been the third appendix to the *Précis* on the art of war. It appeared in 1856 as *Lettre du général Jomini au directeur du*

Spectateur militaire.^[94] The final appendix to the *Précis* was published in 1866 under four different titles. The titles revealed the tenor of the thoughts of the now eighty-seven year old general. The first title, "Observations sur l'influence des nouvelles inventions dans les combinaisons de la guerre,"^[97] appeared in a letter addressed to the newspaper *La France*. The letter was published in an abbreviated form in the *Revue militaire suisse* in November 1866 as "Questions stratégiques relatives aux événements de la guerre de Bohême."^[98] The letter also appeared in part in a pamphlet entitled, *Troisième appendice au Précis de l'art de la guerre du général Jomini*.^[64] A final form of the appendix used the title, *Questions de stratégie et d'organisation militaire*.^[63] This pamphlet was signed "G.J.," i.e., General Jomini.

Criticism directed against the *Précis* and against the concept of principles in war did not prevent the continuing spread of Jomini's popularity and influence. A book entitled, *Jomini's Strategy, Extracted from the Précis de l'art de la guerre*,^[43] was edited and translated by an Ensign F. Adam and published in Bombay, India in 1860. During the American Civil War, a new English translation of the *Précis* by Lieutenants George H. Mendell and William P. Craighill gained such notoriety that the knapsack of every competent general was said to contain only two essential publications - - a copy of the Holy Bible and a copy of this translation of Jomini. The Mendell-Craighill translation, entitled simply *The Art of War*,^[44] first appeared in Philadelphia in 1862. It was republished in 1863, 1864, 1868, 1879 and 1892. This edition was also selected for republication in 1971 as a part of the West Point Military Library series of reprints. An abridgement of the *Précis* was published in Paris^[45] in 1871, and a new German translation by Captain von Boguslawski was published in Berlin in 1881 and 1885 and in Dresden in 1891 as a part of a series of German and foreign military classics.^[46] In 1894 Lecomte edited a two-volume edition of the *Précis* which is generally considered to be the third edition of the work.^[47] It fulfilled Jomini's request to Lecomte, which was made just a few weeks before Jomini's death, to write "a supplement or a complement" to the *Précis* which would show that railroads and steam power had not altered the principles of the art of war.⁴⁸ And after two world wars, Lieutenant Colonel J.D. Hittle edited a condensed version of the *Précis* which he entitled, *Jomini and his Summary of the Art of War*. This edition was printed in 1947 and again in 1952.^[48]

Jomini's writings present a startling symmetry, for he ended very nearly at the place where he began. His first writings concerned the lessons that could be learned from the study of the campaigns of an adventurous Prussian against the more established Habsburg Empire. His last writings sought to confirm the lessons that he had learned and dealt with the study of the campaign of another great Prussian against the still powerful Austrian empire. Jomini first attempted a theoretical work; then he combined the theoretical and the historical. The historical approach dominated his History of the wars of the revolution and his Life of Napoleon. The theoretical returned when he wrote the "Analytical description" to accompany the historical essays on great military operations. And finally, his

Précis emerged as the theoretical compendium that he thought of writing as a youth. His talent and his character made his political and personal life difficult, but the same talent and character created a comprehensive theory of the art of war that satisfied generations of soldiers, savants and military pedagogues. His influence and popularity were due to three major characteristics. First, he stated his ideas and his positions on controversial issues boldly and with certainty. Second, he insisted that there are a few, fundamental principles which guide the military commander, and he insisted that these principles can be easily learned. Finally, he used history didactically; great captains themselves, he claimed, confirmed the truth of his theory. Together these characteristics reduced the increasingly sophisticated aspects of war and its related disciplines to simple and understandable terms and imbued readers with confidence and assurance--true virtues in professions rife with danger and uncertainty. Jomini's theories have been challenged severely; but his works remain as important evidence of one of the most eventful periods in the history of war.

Footnotes to Antoine-Henri Jomini,
A Bibliographical Survey:

1. Henri Perrochon, "Jomini écrivain," in Bibliothèque historique vaudois, *Le général Antoine-Henri Jomini (1779-1869), Contributions à sa biographie*, p 76.
2. Some works attributed to Jomini and brief, published letters have been omitted from the narrative. All known published works, to include attributed works, are included in the bibliography. Bracketed superscripts appearing after works cited in the narrative of this study refer to the numbered entries in the bibliography. Another extensive bibliography, which includes first editions, pamphlets, translations, posthumous publications, published correspondence, articles, manuscripts, and selected books and articles about Jomini appears in Olivier Pavillon, "Bibliographie," in *Le général Antoine-Henri Jomini (1779-1869), Contributions à sa biographie*. Hereafter cited as Pavillon.
3. Pavillon, p 112. In Comité du centenaire du général Jomini, *Général Antoine-Henri Jomini, 1779-1869*, hereafter cited as Comité du centenaire, p 21, the *Bulletin helvétique* is referred to as the *Journal helvétique*. The latter title was not used until December 1800.
4. Antoine-Henri Jomini, *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*, 4th ed, Vol 1, p 5. Hereafter cited as *Traité*.
5. Antoine-Henri Jomini, *Traité de grand tactique*, Vol 1, p 6. Hereafter cited as *Traité de grande tactique*.
6. Antoine-Henri Jomini (tr O.F. Winship and E.E. McLean) *Summary of the Art of War*, p 13. Hereafter cited as Winship-McLean.
7. Ferdinand Lecomte, *Le général Jomini, sa vie et ses écrits*, 3d ed, p 323. Hereafter cited as Lecomte.
8. *Traité*, 4th ed, Vol 1, p 8.
9. J.-M. Quérard, *La France littéraire*, Vol 4, p 241. Hereafter cited as Quérard.
10. J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, London, 1812, 111, p 249n as quoted in Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, New York and Oxford, 1972, pp 317-318. See Gaskell also for details concerning the history of printing from about 1600 to the present.

11. *Traité de grande tactique*, Vol 1, p 16.
12. Lecomte, p 323.
13. Comité du centenaire, p 29.
14. *Traité*, Vol 3, p 5.
15. The journal was edited by Rühle von Lilienstern and published only from 1808 to 1810.
16. *Aus dem Nachlasse von G. H. von Berenhorst*, Vol 2, Dessau, 1847, pp 281-284. Hereafter cited as *Berenhorst*.
17. *Traité*, Vol 4, pp 5-6.
18. Lecomte, pp 323-324.
19. *Ibid.*, p 61.
20. No bibliographical confirmation of this pamphlet has been found in the course of this investigation. Jomini, however, frequently wrote of the origins of the chapter and referred to it by the above title in the second appendix, *Sur la Formation des troupes pour le combat*, of the second edition of his *Précis de l'art de la guerre*. See Jomini *Précis de l'art de la guerre*, Neudruck du Ausgabe von 1855, Vol 2, Osnabruck, 1973, p 378.
21. Letter of 28 August 1808 from Berenhorst to Rühle von Lilienstern. In *Berenhorst*, Vol 2, p 286.
22. I owe this suggestion to Professor Peter Paret.
23. Antoine-Henri Jomini, *Histoire critique et militaire de la révolution*, 2d ed, Vol 8, p iv.
24. Comité du centenaire, p 63.
25. *Traité*, 4th ed, Vol 1, p 14.
26. See Comité du centenaire, p 60.
27. See Quérard, p 241.
28. See British Museum, *Catalogue of Printed Books: Photolithographic edition to 1955*, Vol 118, p 362 and Quérard, p 241.
29. Comité du centenaire, p 50.
30. Quérard, p 241.
31. Comité du centenaire, p 51.
32. *Ibid.*, pp 63-64.
33. Winship-McLean, p 20.

34. Fritz Ernst, *Generäle: Portraits und Studien zur schweizerischen Biographie*, Zurich, 1942, p 89.
35. Comité du centenaire, p 54.
36. Antoine-Henri Jomini (tr S. V. Benet), *The Political and Military History of the Campaign of Waterloo*, 3d ed, p 5.
37. "Un fragment inédit des Mémoires de Jomini," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 8, August 1912, p 605.
38. Comité du centenaire, p 55.
39. Antoine-Henri Jomini, *Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre*, 3d ed, p v.
40. Lecomte, p 350.
41. Winship-McLean, p 5.
42. Crane Brinton, Gordon Craig, and Felix Gilbert, "Jomini" in Edward Mead Earle, Gordon A. Craig and Felix Gilbert (ed), *Makers of Modern Strategy, Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler*, Princeton, 1944, p 84.
43. Antoine-Henri Jomini (tr George H. Mendell and William P. Craig-hill), *The Art of War*, Westport, Connecticut, 1971, p 347.
44. *Ibid.*, pp 358-360 and Lecomte, pp 359-360.
45. Lecomte, p 364.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

No complete bibliography of Jomini's published works exists. This bibliography begins with a brief list of secondary sources and references and includes all of his major editions and all known pamphlets, articles, translations (by or edited by Jomini) and published correspondence. Republications, reprintings, translations and atlases are included either in annotations or, where extensive bibliographical information is available, in separate entries. Some attributed works and some very brief writings were not discussed in the narrative of this bibliographical survey are also included.

REFERENCES AND SECONDARY SOURCES

In addition to the resources of the libraries acknowledged at the start of this monograph the following references and secondary sources have been useful in completing the narrative of the survey and in compiling this bibliography.

Bibliothèque historique vaudois. *Le général Antoine-Henri Jomini (1779-1869). Contributions à sa biographie.* Lausanne, Imprimeries réunies S.A., 1969. [1]

Published as number XLI in the collection Bibliothèque historique vaudois of the Comité de la Société académique vaudois, this pamphlet contains five essays and an extensive bibliography. It is intended to be a lasting commemorative of the centenary celebration of Jomini's death. It contains: Préface by M^e Colin Martin, Les années d'enfance et de jeunesse by Jean-Pierre Chuard, Jomini et la Suisse by Jean-Charles Biaudet, Jomini stratège by Robert Frick, Jomini écrivain by Henri Perrochon, Jomini et le droit de la guerre by Frédéric de Mulinen, and Bibliographie by Olivier Pavillon.

British Museum. *General Catalogue of Printed Books. Photolithographic edition to 1955.* Volume 118, pages 361-364. London and Wisbech, Balding & Mansell, 1962. [2]

Catalogue entries, with many cross-references, of holdings of and about Jomini's published works at the British Museum.

Comité du Centenaire du Général Jomini. *Général Antoine-Henri Jomini, 1779-1869.* Lausanne, Imprimeries réunies S.A., 1969. [3]

This pamphlet contains an annotated list of the memorabilia collected in Jomini's natal town to celebrate the centenary of his death. Organized by the Comité du Centenaire in collaboration with the Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire de Lausanne, the exhibit included most of Jomini's major published works.

de Courville, Xavier. *Jomini ou le devin de Napoléon*. Paris, Plon, [1935]. [1]

Written by Jomini's great-grandson, this biography tends to be patronizing, but it does make use of family documents that were not available to earlier biographers.

Lecomte, Ferdinand. *Le général Jomini. Sa vie et ses écrits. Esquisse biographique et stratégique*. [1st edition] Paris, Ch. Tanera, 1860. [2]

Lecomte's biography was inspired by his admiration for Jomini. Though marred by some factual errors and partiality toward its subject, it still contains much valuable information about Jomini's life and thought. Three editions of this biography were published. The third (Lausanne, B. Benda, 1888) contains many additions concerning the last years of Jomini's life and has been used for the citations in the narrative of this bibliographical survey.

Ministère de l'instruction publique. *Catalogue générale des livres imprimés de la bibliothèque nationale*. Authors, Volume 78, pages 892-893. Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1923. [6]

Catalogue entries of Jomini's published works held at the Bibliothèque nationale. Entries include some brief annotations.

The National Union Catalogue. Pre-1956 Imprints. Volume 283, pages 349-353. Compiled and edited with the cooperation of the Library of Congress and the National Union Catalogue Subcommittee of the Resources Committee of the Resources and Technical Services Division, American Library Association. London, Mansell Information/Publishing Limited, 1973. [7]

Copies of card catalogue entries concerning Jomini's published works held by major libraries in the United States and Canada. Some entries, however, report erroneous and misleading information.

Quérard, J.-M. *La France littéraire, ou dictionnaire bibliographique des savants, historiens et gens de lettres de la France, ainsi que des littérateurs étrangers qui ont écrit en français, plus particulièrement pendant les XVIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. Volume 4, page 241. Paris, Firmin Didot Frères, 1830. [8]

Information contained in this annotated list of Jomini's early published works is often ambiguous and occasionally erroneous.

Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin. *Le général Jomini. Étude*. Paris, M. Levy, 1869. [9]

The five essays contained in this study first appeared as a series of articles in the Paris newspaper *Le Temps*, a few weeks after Jomini's death; they, hence, tend to be eulogistic. They appeared under the title "Le général Jomini" in the issues of 18 May, 1 June, 15 June, 29 June and 13 July 1869.

MAJOR EDITIONS

This list of Jomini's major editions is believed to be complete. Translations or republications of these works are included in the notes to the edition from which the translation was or is believed to have been made or in a separate entry following the parent work. Some translations, particularly in the Cyrillic languages, are not included due to gaps in extant knowledge. Where different titles appeared on otherwise identical volumes, both titles are given. The major editions are arranged chronologically and are separated by lines of asterisks. The translations and remote republications are listed chronologically immediately after the parent edition.

Traité de grande tactique, ou relation de la guerre de sept ans, extraite de Tempelhof, commentée et comparée aux principales opérations de la dernière guerre; avec un recueil des maximes les plus importantes de l'art militaire, justifiées par ces différents événements. First and second parts. Paris, Giguet et Michaud, Magimel, an XIII (1805). [10]

Traité de grande tactique, ou relation de la guerre de sept ans, extraite de Tempelhof, commentée et comparée aux opérations des dernières guerres; avec un recueil des maximes les plus importantes de l'art militaire, justifiées par ces différents événements. Fifth part. Paris, Giguet et Michaud, Magimel, 1806. [11]

This volume also appeared as:

Relation critique des campagnes des Français contre les Coalisés depuis 1792; avec un recueil de maximes sur l'art de la guerre justifiées par ces événements. Pour faire suite au *Traité de grande tactique*. Paris, Giguet et Michaud, Magimel, 1806. [12]

Traité de grandes opérations militaires, ou relation critique et comparative des campagnes de Frédéric et de l'empereur Napoléon; avec un recueil des maximes les plus importantes de l'art de la guerre, justifiées par les actions de ces deux grands capitaines. Third part. Paris, Giguet et Michaud, Magimel, 1807. [13]

Traité de grandes opérations militaires, ou relation critique et comparative des campagnes de Frédéric et de l'empereur Napoléon; avec un recueil des maximes les plus importantes de l'art de la guerre, justifiées par les actions de ces deux grands capitaines. Fourth part. Paris, Giguet et Michaud, Magimel, 1809. [14]

Extrait du Traité des grandes opérations militaires. Chap. VIII.
Conclusion de l'ouvrage. L'art de la guerre, ramené à ses
véritables principes. Sixth part. (Paris, Magimel, 1810), [15]
14 pages.

This chapter, published separately, is more properly a pamphlet, but
it is included here because it forms the conclusion of Jomini's first
major edition.

Traité des grandes opérations militaires, contenant l'histoire
critique des campagnes de Frédéric II, comparées à celles de
l'empereur Napoléon; avec un recueil des principes généraux de
l'art de la guerre. Second edition. Four volumes. Paris, [16]
Magimel, 1811.

The fifth and sixth volumes of this second edition appeared as:

Histoire critique et militaire des campagnes de la révolution, com-
parées au système de l'empereur Napoléon; Faisant suite au
Traité des grandes opérations militaires. Second edition.
First and second parts. Paris, Magimel, 1811. [17]

Six volumes of the *Traité des grandes opérations militaires* were
translated into Russian and published in Saint Petersburg during the
period 1809-1811. The seventh and eighth volumes of the second edi-
tion of the *Traité*. . . appeared as:

Histoire critique et militaire des campagnes de la révolution, Fai-
sant suite au *Traité des grandes opérations militaires*. Second
edition. Third and last parts "contenant les campagnes de Bon-
aparte et de Moreau sur le Rhin, en 1796 et 1797." Paris,
Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1816. [18]

The seventh and eighth volumes of the second edition were translated
into Russian and published in Saint Petersburg in 1817. The second
Paris edition appeared in both the octavo edition cited here and in
a four-volume quarto edition. Like the corresponding volumes in the
octavo, the quarto was published in Paris by Magimel, Anselin and
Pochard, three volumes in 1811 and the final volume in 1816. The
second edition's final four volumes were republished in Brussels in
1841, but because they were included with a republication of a later
work, both are discussed below.

Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de Frédéric II, comparées au système moderne, avec un recueil des principes les plus importants de l'art de la guerre. Third edition. Three volumes. Paris, Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1818. [19]

The third edition also appeared as:

Traité des grandes opérations militaires, contenant l'histoire critique et militaire des guerres de Frédéric II, comparées au système moderne, avec un recueil des principes les plus importants de l'art de la guerre. Third edition. Three volumes. Paris, Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1819. [20]

The third edition appeared in Brussels as:

Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de Frédéric II, comparées au système moderne, avec un recueil des principes les plus importants de l'art de la guerre. New edition. First volume "comprenant les trois premiers volumes de l'édition de Paris." Brussels, J.-B. Petit, 1840. [21]

This Brussels third edition was reprinted in 1842. The second volume of this Brussels edition of Jomini's major theoretical works is cited at [39] below. The third Paris edition of the *Traité* . . . was also translated into English:

Treatise on Grand Military Operations: or a Critical and Military History of the Wars of Frederick the Great, as Contrasted with the Modern System. Together with a Few of the Most Important Principles of the Art of War. Translated by Colonel Samuel B. Holabird. Two volumes and atlas. New York and London, D. Van Nostrand, 1865. [22]

Traité des grandes opérations militaires; ou, Histoire critique des guerres de Frédéric le Grand comparées au système moderne avec un recueil des principes les plus importants de l'art de la guerre. Fourth edition. Three volumes. Paris, J. Dumaine, 1851. [23]

The three fourth edition volumes were published under the same title by Ch. Tanera, also at Paris in 1851.

Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la révolution. New edition. Fifteen volumes. Paris, Anselin et Pochard, Vols 1-6, 1820; Vols 7-9, 1821; Vols 10-12, 1822; Vols 13-15, 1824. [24]

This edition was republished in Brussels as:

Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la révolution. New edition. Fifteen volumes. Brussels, J.-B. Petit, 1837-1839. [25]

It was again republished in Brussels as:

Histoire critique et militaire des guerres de la révolution. New edition. Four volumes. Brussels, J.-B. Petit, Vol 1, 1842; Vols 2-4, 1840. [26]

Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon, racontée par lui-même, au tribunal de César, d'Alexandre et de Frédéric. Four volumes. Paris, Anselin, 1827. [27]

These volumes were published anonymously, but subsequent admissions by Jomini confirm that he was the author. A Russian translation appeared in Saint Petersburg in 1838. A republication appeared in Brussels as:

Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon, racontée par lui-même, au tribunal de César, d'Alexandre et de Frédéric. Two volumes. Brussels, J.-B. Petit, 1841-42. [28]

An English translation appeared as:

Life of Napoleon. Translated by Henry W. Halleck. Four volumes. New York, D. Van Nostrand; London, Trubner and Co., 1864. [29]

The Halleck translation was republished in two volumes in Kansas City, Missouri by the Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co. in 1897. A Bulgarian translation of the life of Napoleon appeared in 1895.

Précis politique et militaire de la campagne de 1815, pour servir de supplément et de rectification à la *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon*, racontée par lui-même. Paris, Anselin et Laguyonnie, 1839. [30]

This 284 page essay was intended to supplement Chapter 22 of the life of Napoleon. A republication under the same title appeared in Brussels, Meline, Cans et Cie., 1846 and an English translation appeared as:

The Political and Military History of the Campaign of Waterloo. Translated by Stephen V. Benet. New York, Redfield, 1853. [31]

This edition was republished in 1854. A second edition was published in New York by D. Van Nostrand in 1862, and a third edition by the same publisher appeared in 1864.

Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre, et de leurs rapports avec la politique des Etats, pour servir d'introduction au Traité des grandes opérations militaires. Third edition. Paris, Anselin, 1830. [32]

A second edition appeared in Saint Petersburg, also in 1830. The "third edition, Paris," however, is generally considered the parent edition of this work. It is the generic link between Jomini's early essay on general principles and his later theoretical compendium, the *Précis de l'art de la guerre*. A Polish language edition of the *Tableau* . . . appeared in Mont-de-Marsan, France as:

Obraz rozbiorowy przednieiszych kombinacji wojny. Translated by Wincentego Nieszokoć. Mont-de-Marsan, P.-V. Leclercq, 1835. [33]

A fourth edition of the *Tableau* . . . appeared in Saint Petersburg:

Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre, et de leurs rapports avec la politique des Etats. Fourth edition. Saint Petersburg, F. Bellizard, 1836. [34]

Another fourth edition appeared in Brussels:

Tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre, et de leurs rapports avec la politique des états, pour servir d'introduction au Traité des grandes opérations militaires. Fourth edition. Brussels, J.-B. Petit, 1839. [35]

Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire. Latest edition. First part. Paris, Anselin, G.-Laguionie, 1838. [36]

An advance of this work appeared in Paris in 1837. The second part of the *Précis* . . . appeared in 1838 from the same publishers and under the same title except that it was annotated "New edition." A Brussels edition also appeared in 1838:

Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire. New edition. Brussels, Meline, Canis et Compagnie, 1838. [37]

A German translation appeared in 1839:

Das Wesen der Kriegskunst, oder neue analytische Darstellung der Haupt-combinationen der Strategie, der höhern Taktik und der Militär-politik. Translated by Captain von Bilderling. Two volumes. Leipzig, L. Voss, 1839. [38]

In 1840 and 1841, J.-B. Petit published the *précis* along with other of Jomini's theoretical works. The second volume of this series was entitled:

Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou Nouveau traité analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire, suivi du tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la guerre et de leurs rapports avec la politique des états, pour servir d'introduction au Traité des grandes opérations militaires. New edition. Volume two. Brussels, J.-B. Petit, 1841. [39]

This volume completed the two-volume set of Jomini's major theoretical works published in Brussels in 1840-41. Information on the title pages of these volumes is quite misleading. The first volume (See [21] above) claimed to contain the "first three volumes of the Paris edition" of the Essay on great military operations, and it did include the three volumes of the third edition (1818) of the Essay which included Jomini's full history of the Seven Years' War. The second volume claimed to include the last five volumes of the Essay, and since the second edition of the Essay was the only edition presented in eight volumes, it suggested that the second edition's final five volumes were included. The table of contents of the second volume omitted the portion of the volume which concerned the Essay on great military operations entirely, but the volume did include brief reviews of each of the campaigns of the Seven Years' War. Since the last four volumes of the second edition dealt with the early campaigns of the revolution, the annotation could not refer to the "final five volumes" of the second Paris edition. The annotation on the title page of the second volume of the Brussels set is therefore erroneous. A Spanish translation appeared in 1840:

Compendio del arte de la guerra, ó nuevo cuadro analítico de las principales combinaciones de la estrategia, de la táctica sublime y de la política militar. New edition. Two volumes. Madrid, 1840. [40]

The first English translation of the *précis* appeared in New York in 1854:

Summary of the Art of War, or, A New Analytical Compend of the Principal Combinations of Strategy, of Grand Tactics and of Military Policy. Translated by Major O.F. Winship and Lieutenant E.E. McLean. New York, G. Putnam and Co., 1854. [41]

Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire. New edition. Two volumes. Paris, Ch. Tanera, 1855. [42]

Extracts from the *Precis* were translated into English as:

Jomini's Strategy. Extracted from the *Précis de l'art de la guerre* and translated by Ensign F. Adam. Bombay, Chesson and Woodhall, 1860. [43]

The complete 1855 edition of the *Precis* was translated into English as:

The Art of War. Translated by Lieutenants George H. Mendell and William P. Craighill. New edition. Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1862. [44]

The Mendell-Craighill translation was republished in 1863, 1864, 1868, 1879 and 1892. In 1971 it appeared from the Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut as a selection of the West Point Military Library series of reprints. An abridgement of the *précis* was published in Paris as a part of:

Abrégé de l'art de la guerre. Compiled by L.N. Rossel. Paris, 1871. [45]

A new German translation appeared as:

Abriss der Kriegskunst. Translated and notes by Lieutenant Colonel von Boguslawski. Berlin, Richard Wilhelmi, 1881. [46]

This translation was republished in Berlin in 1885 and in Dresden in 1891. It was a part of the series, *Militärische Klassiker des In- und Auslandes*. The 1855 Paris edition of the *précis* was also reprinted by Biblio-Verlag, Osnabrück, West Germany in 1973.

Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de la stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire. New edition directed by Ferdinand Lecomte. Two volumes and atlas. Paris, L. Baudouin, 1894. [47]

An abridged English version of the *précis* appeared as:

Jomini and his Summary of the Art of War. A condensed version, edited and with an introduction by J.D. Hittle. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Military Service, 1947. [48]

This version was republished in 1952.

Like the 1894 edition of the *Précis* the following two works were published after Jomini's death and under the direction of Ferdinand Lecomte:

Précis politique et militaire des campagnes de 1812 à 1814. Extrait des souvenirs inédits du général Jomini avec une notice biographique et des cartes, plans et légendes. Published by Ferdinand Lecomte. Two volumes. Lausanne, B. Benda, 1886. [49]

Guerre d'Espagne. Extraits des souvenirs inédits du général Jomini (1808-1814) par Ferdinand Lecomte. Paris, L. Baudouin, 1892. [50]

PAMPHLETS

Separate publications generally of less than eighty pages are included in this section. Even though published correspondence often meets this criteria, all published correspondence is included in a subsequent section of this bibliography. Entries are arranged chronologically except that translations follow the parent work.

Observations sur la probabilité d'une guerre avec la Prusse, et sur les opérations militaires qui auront vraisemblablement lieu; rédigées pour M. le maréchal Ney, au château de Warthausen, près Biberach, le 15 septembre 1806. [51]

Résumé des principes généraux de l'art de la guerre. Glogau, Silesia, December, 1807. [52]

Extrait du Traité des grandes opérations militaires. Sixth part. See major editions. [53]

The chapter on general principles was translated into English as:

An Exposition of the First Principles of Grand Military Combinations and Movements . . . with remarks on the Leading Principles of the Efficient Constitution of Armies. Translated by J.A. Gilbert. London, T. Egerton, 1825. [54]

Mémoires sur la campagne de 1813. Leipzig, October 1813. [55]

This pamphlet also appeared as:

Memoiren über den Feldzug von 1813. Leipzig, October 1813. [56]

De la Suisse dans l'intérêt de l'Europe, ou Examen d'une opinion énoncée à la tribune par le général Sebastiani. Paris, January 1821, 125 pages. [57]

This pamphlet has been attributed to Jomini, but recently authorship has been attributed to Charles Pictet de Rochemont.

[*Replique à la "Lettre à l'auteur de la Suisse . . ."*] See published correspondence [55].

Première épître d'un Suisse à ses concitoyens. [Lausanne, Hignou aîné], 1822. 15 pages. [57]

Seconde épître d'un Suisse à ses concitoyens. [Lausanne, Hignou aîné], 1822 14 pages. [58]

Observations du général Jomini sur les lignes d'opérations et sur quelques ouvrages qui ont combattu son Traité des grandes opérations militaires. Saint Petersburg, Imprimerie Veuve Pluchart, 1829. 22 pages. [59]

This pamphlet was probably an advance of the *Tableau . . .*

Observations sur la dernière campagne de Turquie. Paris, Imprimerie de Goetschy, 1829. 42 pages. [60]

This pamphlet has also been attributed to Jak. Tolstoï. It was signed, "Un officier d'état-major russe."

Appendice au Précis de l'art de la guerre. (Résumé stratégique présenté à Son Altesse Impériale le 20 mars 1837). Paris, Anselin, 1849. 32 pages. [61]

The appendix was also published in Brussels by Froment in 1849. It was the first appendix to the *Précis*.

Sur la formation des troupes pour le combat. Second appendix to the *Précis de l'art de la guerre.* Paris, Ch. Tanera, 1856, 27 pages. [62]

According to Lecomte, the third appendix to the *Précis* was a letter to the director of the *Speotateur militaire* (see published correspondence) and the fourth appendix appeared in one of its forms as:

Questions de stratégie et d'organisation militaire, relative aux événements de la guerre de Bohême, par un officier général. Paris, Ch. Tanera, 1866. 30 pages. [63]

Lecomte also reported that the fourth appendix to the *Précis* appeared as:

Troisième appendice au Précis de l'art de la guerre du général Jomini, relatif aux modifications nécessitées par les nouvelles inventions et par la dernière guerre de Bohême. Paris, 1866. [64]

It is tempting to disregard Lecomte's ordering of the appendices and to refer to this appendix and its paradigms as the third appendix. The letter to the director of the *Speotateur militaire* would then be disregarded as an appendix to the Précis. The first two appendices were added to the Précis in the edition of 1855, but during Jomini's life no further appendices appeared with the parent work. It is therefore not certain if he intended his letter to the director of the *Speotateur militaire* to be his third appendix as Lecomte stated or if he had simply forgotten that the letter was to be the third appendix when he published the above "third appendix" in 1866. It is possible that Jomini in the course of his conversations and correspondence with Lecomte indicated that the four appendices should be as Lecomte reported them. In the absence of further information to the contrary, Lecomte's identification of four appendices is therefore accepted.

ARTICLES

The following list of Jomini's articles from journals and newspapers is the most complete that has appeared to date. Where authorship has been questioned the article is included with an appropriate remark in the notes. Entries are arranged chronologically.

"Peut-on espérer la paix?" *Bulletin helvétique*, Number 17, 20 September 1800, pp 131-134. [65]

This article was signed, "J*****, employee of the Swiss government." The *Bulletin helvétique* was published in Lausanne from February 1, 1798 through December 11, 1800. It was succeeded by the *Journal helvétique*.

"Des formes d'un bon gouvernement," *Bulletin helvétique*, Number 35, 12 October 1800, pp 275-278. [66]

This article is signed "J*****."

"L'art de la guerre," *Pallas: Eine Zeitschrift für Staats- und Kriege-Kunst*, I, 1808, pp 31-40. [67]

"Relation succincte de la bataille de Jéna," *Pallas: Eine Zeitschrift für Staats- und Kriege-Kunst*, II, 1808, pp 97-116 [68]

"Examen critique de l'histoire de l'art de la guerre du colonel Carrion-Nisas," extrait de la *Revue Européenne*, June 1824, pp 109-132. [69]

"Observations sur l'histoire militaire depuis Louis XIV jusqu'à nos jours," *Journal de l'armée belge, recueil d'art, d'histoire et de sciences militaires*, Vol II, 1851, pp 3-32, 97-123. [70]

The article, dated in Paris, 6 March 1836, is signed, "An impartial military man." Lecomte attributes the article to Jomini himself.

"La neutralité de la Suisse," *Feuille populaire de la Suisse romande*, Number 26, 1854, pp 1-3. [71]

["Lettre sur l'importance stratégique des chemins de fer,"] *Nouvelliste vaudois*, 28 July 1856. [72]

"Des colonnes de bataillons. A propos des manoeuvres de l'armée prussienne près de Cologne," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 16, 16 August 1862, pp 245-246. [73]

"A propos des réflexions sur la campagne de Bohême," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 2, 15 January 1867, pp 17-18. [74]

"Quelques mots sur la défense de la Belgique en 1851," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 6, 15 June 1888, pp 257-262. [75]

"Iéna, extrait des souvenirs inédits du général Jomini," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 11, November 1906, pp 813-821. [76]

"De Pultusk à Eylau, extrait des souvenirs inédits du général Jomini," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 1, January 1907, pp 2-15. [77]

A continuation of this article appeared as:

"La bataille d'Eylau," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 2, February 1907, pp 73-89. [78]

"Un fragment inédit des Mémoires de Jomini: [Conversation entre Ney et Jomini en juin 1813]," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 8, August 1912, pp 605-612. [79]

TRANSLATIONS

Jomini probably contributed to the writing of the French editions of the following translations. They are listed chronologically.

[Boutourlin, Dimitrii Petrovich.] *Tableau de la campagne d'automne de 1813, en Allemagne, depuis la rupture de l'armistice jusqu'au passage du Rhin par l'armée française*. Paris, A. Bertrand, Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1817. [80]

This translation was revised by Jomini.

Principes de la stratégie, développés par la relation de la campagne de 1796 en Allemagne. Three volumes. Paris, Magimel, Anselin et Pochard, 1818. [81]

Jomini added the notes to this translation of Archduke Charles' *Grundsätze der Strategie*.

Bjoernstjerna, [Magnus Frederik Ferdinand]. Translated by M. Petit de Baroncourt. *Tableau politique et statistique de l'Empire britannique dans l'Inde, examen des probabilités de sa durée et de ses moyens de défense en cas d'invasion.* Paris, Amyot, 1842. [82]

This translation has been attributed to Jomini by Lecomte. The translator's name given is that of one of Jomini's parents.

PUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

The bulk alone of Jomini's published correspondence demonstrates the energy that he expended in defending his beliefs and his publications. All published correspondence, whether from newspapers, journals or pamphlets, is included here. It is arranged chronologically by date of publication.

Correspondence entre le général Jomini et le général Sarrazin sur la campagne de 1813. [Paris, Imprimerie F. Didot, 1815.] 55 pages. [83]

The letter was republished in 1817 along with the pamphlet on the probability of war with Prussia (1806) and the pamphlet on the campaign of 1813 (1813).

Correspondance du général Jomini avec M. le baron Monnier. [Paris, 1819.] 56 pages. [84]

This correspondence was republished probably in 1821.

[*Replique à la "Lettre à l'auteur de la Suisse dans l'intérêt de l'Europe, Bale, 1822."*] Geneva, 1822. [85]

Réponses de l'auteur de la Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon à trois articles de la Gazette de France. n.p., 1827, 52 pages. [86]

J[omini], F[rancois]. *Réplique au général Rühle de Lilienstern, sur la critique qu'il a insérée dans la Gazette d'Etat de Prusse, relativement au Tableau analytique des combinaisons de la guerre du général Jomini.* Paris, Anselin, December 1832. 47 pages. [87]

Lecomte attributes this reply to Jomini himself.

Jomini, [Francois]. *Réplique du colonel Jomini à Lord Londonderry (Général Stuart) sur les événements de la campagne de Dresde en 1813.* [Followed by] *Précis des événements de la campagne d'automne de 1813, depuis l'armistice de Parschwitz jusqu'à la bataille de Leipzig.* [Paris, 1833.] 55 pages. [88]

Again it was probably Antoine-Henri Jomini who wrote this reply.

Lettre du général Jomini à Capefigue sur son Histoire d'Europe pendant le Consulat et l'Empire. [Paris, Imprimerie F. Didot, 1841]. 24 pages. [99]

This letter was also appended to the fourth edition of the *Essay on great military operations* (1851). An English translation of the letter was appended to Holabird's translation, *Treatise on Great Military Operations*.

Campagne de 1815. Correspondence entre M. le lieutenant-général baron Jomini et M. le duc d'Elchingen. Paris, Imprimerie de Bourgogne et Martinet, 1841. 36 pages. [99]

This letter concerned Marshal Ney's role at the battle of Waterloo. An English translation of the letter was appended to Stephen V. Benet's translation, *The Political and Military History of the Campaign of Waterloo*.

"Lettre stratégique du général Jomini à M. de Pixérécourt, Lausanne, 14 October 1833," *Théâtre choisi*, Vol 3, Paris, Tresse, Nancy 1842 on pp 196-200. [91]

"Réplique au nom du général Jomini à l'article sur la traduction de l'ouvrage de l'archiduc Charles," which appeared in the *Spectateur militaire* of 15 April 1842, *Spectateur militaire*, Vol 33, May 1842 on pp 216-225. [92]

This reply was signed "P.B.," but Jomini was at least involved in its being written.

"Lettre du général Jomini à la rédaction de la *Gazette de Lausanne*," dated in Brussels, 17 September 1849, *Gazette de Lausanne*, 27 September 1849, p 2. [93]

Lettre du général Jomini au directeur du Spectateur militaire, relative à l'examen de sa brochure sur la formation des troupes pour le combat. Paris, Imprimerie de L. Martinet, 1856. 13 pages. [94]

This letter which according to Lecomte is the third appendix to the précis first appeared in the *Spectateur militaire*, August 1856, pp 238-248. The letter answered criticisms, published in the *Spectateur militaire*, of M. Bonneau du Martray, author of a popular military handbook and later a general officer. The criticism was directed against the second appendix to the précis, i.e., the pamphlet, *Sur la formation des troupes pour le combat*.

Questions de stratégie et d'organisation militaire . . . See pamphlets [63].

Troisième appendice au Précis . . . See pamphlets [64].

"Une lettre inédite du général Jomini à Thiers, 10 avril 1846," *Revue militaire suisse*, Number 11, 16 November 1892, pp 481-488. [99]

This letter to Thiers also appeared in:

Le général Jomini et les Mémoires du baron de Marbot. Paris, L. Baudouin, 1893. 36 pages. [100]

"Lettre de Dolder et Jomini à Murat, gouverneur de Paris," dated in Paris, 14 May 1804, and "Lettre de Jomini à Louis XVIII," dated in Aarau, 2 July 1814, *Carnets de la Sabretache*, Number 37. January 1896, pp 53-56. [101]

"Une voix du passé," *Journal de Payerne*, 8 March 1916. [102]

This article consisted of two letters attributed to Jomini and written in Fribourg in December 1813.

"Lettre autographe de Jomini au chancelier Boisot," dated in Paris, 10 February 1822, *Journal de Payerne*, 24 January 1930. [103]

Borgeaud, Charles, "Une lettre de Jomini à Pictet de Rochemont (1822)," *Revue historique vaudoise*, Number 1, January-February 1932, pp 23-29. [104]